

The Establishment of the New Japan Through
Renunciation of Radical Renovation

(The Yomiuri Shimbun, October 14, 1933)

I have no liberty to talk about the concrete contents of the coming five ministers conference, but I believe that it is essential for us to consider in the conference the unification of the fundamental ideas regarding "How to re-establish Japan?"

What are we to do for that purpose? Are we to establish such a state as Russia or the United States? There lies a problem involving the reconstruction of all the national policies, national defence, diplomacy, and finance.

Should this fundamental problem be solved, other problems will be naturally settled. It is far from truth to say that there are differences of opinions among the ministers in connection with the fundamental ideas. Can there be any? How should Japan be reconstructed? The fundamental idea of her reconstruction is shown by her withdrawal from the League of Nations and by the Imperial Rescript promulgated on the occasion. But Japan's intention is not to abrogate her international co-operation, but to make her earnest endeavors for world peace. Based on this basic idea, our country should exert herself for the promotion of the peaceful relations with other countries of the world, but in the present times, when the powers are fortified

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with arms, Japan also should be armed in such a manner as to counterbalance such Powers. Such balance of armament is necessary for the preservation of peace.

But the Japanese Army exists for execution of virtues, rectifying evils and injustice and it never challenges positively. Some of us have such a mistaken idea as Japan intends to challenge Russia, but this is a great misunderstanding. But if any country should menace to upset her national morality, then she must not hesitate to rise with arms with firm determination.

On the other hand, it is the duty of those who are in charge of the Administration to remove nation-wide uneasiness pervading every class of the people and to take measures to let all of them pursue their occupation in peace at home. This internal problem will be naturally solved by unanimous agreement of the above-mentioned fundamental idea and about this the Army is greatly concerned from the point of national defence.

In these days, accusations are heard, charging the Army with its arrogance. If there is anything unjustifiable about the attitude of the Army, it should be openly blamed. If such blames are well grounded, the Army is willing to submit itself to rectification, but not a few Japanese start false rumors about the action of the Army for their own profiteering speculation and scatter filthy gold for the acquisition of their undeserved social positions with the intention of grasping the

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greatest profits at the least efforts. They are not Japanese in the real sense of the word.

Under these circumstances, it is next to impossible ^{to}re-construct the Japanese empire which upholds justice as her imperishable emblem, no matter how powerfully her army may be equipped. Nor can she expect to achieve successful development in diplomacy. The immovable establishment of this fundamental belief is the mission of the new Japan and it is the indispensable prerequisite for planning of various measures and their fulfillment. With this belief, I lay special emphasis on this in the five ministers conference.

Others look upon the Army as Fascists, but if Fascism had been practicable in Japan, it would have been realized long ago. Japan is not such a country as Italy, Russia or Germany. One country has the ideals of her own. We often hear of "ARAKIism", but -ism is not necessary for our country, as it is a standard of defining. I clearly declare that I am not a Fascist myself.

This is, in short, what I emphasize in the five ministers conference and I believe it is the essence of the reconstruction of the New Japan. On the condition of the establishment of this great belief and its immediate realization, I could agree to curtailing military expenditures from the budget to meet the

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general requirements of the state and advancing munitions expenditures to other departments, say, the relief of rural communities. But if this fundamental belief is not established, it is absurd to claim the insufficiency of the appropriation of the budget or to start the rumor of war.

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I, TODORIKI, Sakae, who occupy the post of Chief and Managing Director for Repatriates Relief Association under the sponsorship of YOMIURI Foundation certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 3 pages and entitled "The Establishment of the New Japan Through Renunciation of Radical Renovation," is an exact and authorized excerpt from Newspaper Files in the custody of The YOMIURI Press.

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/s/ TODORIKI, Sakae (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place,
on this same date.

Witness: /s/ HASUOKA, Takaaki (seal)

急進的改革論を揚棄して新日本建設に當る

(讀賣新聞)

1933

昭和八年十月十四日

五大臣會議の具体的内容に立ち入つて話すことは出来ぬが自分は同會議に於てはこれから如何なる日本を建設するかの本観念を一致せしめることが根幹であると信じてゐる。つまり新日本は一体どうするか、ロシアの様にするのか、アメリカの如き日本とするのかどうかの問題であつて其處に國防も外交も財政も凡ての國策を樹立すべき問題が含まれてゐるのである。

この根本問題さへ解決されるなら殘る諸問題は自づと確立するものである。従つてこの根本觀念に於て五大臣間に對立があるなどは全然ダメである。對立などがある筈がないぢやないか、然らば如何なる日本を建設するかと云へばその根本道念は日本が滿洲問題について國際聯盟を脱退した事實を其際畏くも喚發された聖勅に宣揚されて居るのである。然し國際協調を捨ててゐるものでなく抱く迄世界平和のため戮力す

ると云ふのである。この根本道念に基いて對外的には國際平和招來の
 ため努力せねばならぬが列強が軍備を擁して對立して居る現状に於て
 は、日本も勢力のバランスを破らぬだけの軍備を持たねばならない。
 この均等の軍備を有することが平和を維持する所以であるからである
 併し乍ら皇軍は道徳遂行のための存在であり、復讐正のための皇軍で
 あるから自ら戦を挑むやうなことは絕對にない。世間では露がロシ
 アとの間に戦争でも起すやうに曲解して居る向もあるやうだが大體な
 誤解である。唯我が國の道念を覆す行爲に出て来るものがあつたなら
 斷乎として干戈に訴へこれを一蹴せねばならぬものである。
 これと同時に内に於てはあらゆる國民層に浸潤して居る全面的不安を
 取り余いて國民全部が安んじて戦に助く得る處置を執ることが必要で
 是こそ爲政者の責務である。この國內問題も根本道念さへ一貫すれば
 自然解決するものであつて、此の點につき「軍は國防上から至大の關
 心を持つてゐる様である。此頃軍部積參の聲をさくが「軍の態度非な
 りとするならば正々堂々とやるべきではないか、その政界にして官を

得たる點めらば、實然改むるに吝ではないが、已れの利益を圖る株相場のため皇軍の行動に關するデマを飛ばし或は不相應の地位獲得のため不詳の黃白を撒き最少の勞力を以て莫大の利益を獲ようとする如き非日本人が少くない、これでは如何に尠大なる軍備を擁しても万古不壞の正義を誇る眞の皇國建設は至難でゆり又外交方面に目覺しい活躍を期待することも出来ない、この根本理念の確立こそ新日本の使命であると共に當面の諸政策の樹立及實行の上に於ける絕對先決條件であると信じて五相會議において強調して居るのである

又陸軍を目してフアツシヨなりとする見方が多いやうであるが自分はフアツシヨで行けるものならとうにやつてゐる。日本はイタリーやドイツやロシアではない、皇國日本には皇國の道念がある。此の頃は荒木イズム等といふ評さへあるやうだがイズムは範圍を限定する基準であるから皇國日本にイズムは不要だ、自分も亦フアツシストでないことをハツキリとして置く。

五相會議に於ける自分の主張たるものは要するに之で新日本建設の要

諦と信じてゐる。この道念が確立して直ちに實現するなら國家の必要に應じて軍事豫算を削ることにも賛成しよう資材整備費を他の部門、例へば農村救済等に融通してもよいとさへ考へて居るが、この根本を定めずして豫算が多いとか、少いとか、又戦争準備とか騒がれては迷惑至極だ。

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